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were directed not only against this cult, but also against that of the Fire and of the Sun.[25] There was no cult of war-gods in the mythology of the Old Slavs nor was there any epic poetry in their folklore.

Unlike the patriarchal, rigidly stratified and dualistic religious system of steppe nomads which was full of tensions and struggles, the supernatural world of the Slavs of Polesie was anarchic, equalitarian and peaceful. Apparently projecting their own social organization into the supernatural world, the Old-Slavonic plowmen conceived it as being composed of both sexes but without a hierarchy of power among themselves. The deities that inhabited that world were neither arbitrary nor corrupted, nor did they fight among themselves for the control over man. Festivals in their honor were celebrated with the accent on drink, song, dance and lovemaking.

Accordingly the Slavs of Polesie did not have to appease their deities nor try to be on good terms with both the bad and the good ones. They believed that after death bad and wicked people would roam the earth in the form of werewolves and vampires; but, they also possessed simple means of protection against these evil ghosts, such as pieces of torn clothes, which were accessible to everyone.[26] There were always persons of both sexes who maintained contact and control over the spirits of evil and were willing to help anyone in distress. Hence the Old Slavs trusted their wizards, the *veshchy*.[27]

According to the religious and social philosophy of the Slavs of the Dnieper, there are some general all-embracing rules of behavior to which all people, all the universe as well as all the deities, are subjected. In such a religious and philosophical system, the deities could not be capricious. They could be relied upon to behave according to commonly accepted rules of conduct and should not therefore be distrusted and feared. It is this optimistic view of destiny and of the universe, in which order and anarchic equity, not sword or might nor caprice prevail, that perhaps had found expression in the Old-Slavonic concept of law which was identified with truth and justice (*pravda*). The same view of life had perhaps found expression also in the Old-Slavonic concept of judgment which was identified with destiny

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593 157 Like Jupiter, he only interfered in the affairs of mortals in moments of crisis. But when he did interfere it was no laughing matter, and everybody, from cellar to attic, trembled in his shoes . . .[30]

776 771 This God-like, unapproachable, inscrutable, absolute and arbitrary power of a stern and violent but also benevolent, compassionate and solicitous father was apparently projected into the Russian supernatural world in the form of the *Domovoy*, the house spirit. According to the Great-Russian folk beliefs, the Domovoy was the protector of the house; he had patriarchal prerogatives over it, but also depended upon it. He demanded from the family all kinds of honors. At the same time he was as unpredictable in his behavior as any stereotyped family head in the Great-Russian patriarchal family system.

Thus the Domovoy was at times protective, benevolent and compassionate, but at other times he would become wicked, vindictive and mischievous. He was endowed with supernatural powers and could bring either fortune or calamity upon the family, depending upon his frequently changing moods and dispositions. It was, therefore, considered wise to address him as "Grand Father" and to propitiate and appease him by frequent offerings in viands. If such attention were shown to him he was likely to be helpful. But if he were neglected, he would become [782] enraged and full of wrathful vengeance. In such a case, he could be atoned only by blood; the corners of the izba were sprinkled with blood of a cock that was killed for the occasion and various incantations were uttered.[31]

8
FAMILY CONFLICTS

I

593 THE FATHER treated his family members as wards and minors because he was responsible for their well-being, their behavior and their salvation. He had to show a constant solicitude for them (*neustannaya zabota*). The blame for their

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This is great fortune
For all the servants of the world,
Sharers in honesty and trust,
Executors of the Covenant of Christ.[23]

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Longing for acceptance was not only manifested in the worship of living "Christ," but also in carnal communion with the "Christs" and "Madonnas," in ecstatic trances and mass religious hallucinations, and apparently even in some cannibalistic practices.[23] Thus when in consequence of sacred rites a Bogorodica would bear a child, if a boy, he was known as *Khristosik* (the little Christ). According to some students of Russia's religious life the Khristosik was immolated on the eighth day after his birth. His heart and blood, mixed with flour and honey, were served to make the cakes for the Eucharist. This practice was called "Taking Communion in the blood of the Lamb."[24] At other times, according to the same sources, it was a young virgin, chosen as Mother of God who willingly gave her left breast to be cut out amidst ritual dancing and singing. The breast was then partaken of as the "true Eucharistic food."[25]

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Great emotional insecurity and extreme fear of rejection might explain why elements of power-seeking were present in all sects, even in those which professed complete repudiation of power in any form whatsoever. For instance, Popov, the founder of the Molokane sect which originally professed complete freedom of conscience and complete equality, eventually entirely suppressed liberty of discussion and interpretation. Unconditional submission to the authorities he declared to be the first duty, insubordination the greatest sin.[26] Andrey Selivanov, the founder of the Skoptsy sect, had himself designated in the prayers which were addressed to him in his lifetime, as "God of Gods and King of Kings," even though the Skoptsy sect professed complete freedom from any form of coercion.[27]

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Also early in the history of the Dukhobortsy we find that their communistic practices finally led to dictatorship and despotism.[28] The leaders of this sect knew how to take personal advantage of the longing of the sect members for protective dependence and acceptance. One of the leaders of this sect, Kapustin, in the beginning of the nineteenth century expounded

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newspapers, books, and pamphlets, some of which were printed abroad and circulated freely though often clandestinely among the leading circles of the Empire.

The ruling circles of the Bolshevik Party themselves were always aware that without criticism intellectual stagnation, lack of creative initiative, and bureaucratism would set in. But they could not afford to allow complete freedom of thought and of expression which might eventually undermine their own power. As a result the Bolsheviks introduced a system of "criticism and self-criticism," known as *samokritika.*

According to this practice it is the duty of every Soviet subject to criticize his own work and the work of others in his shop or office as a means of stimulating alertness, initiative, and hard work, and as a way to correct errors. But among the officials who closely watch each other's activities, each hoping to rise on the cadaver of the other, samokritika is often used as a means of intrigue and ruin in jockeying and struggling for ranks, positions, and power. Samokritika therefore has developed into a weapon employed to detect the ideological deviations and diversions and to criticize any lack of sufficiently positive attitude toward the "Party line." In this manner "self-criticism" in the Soviet Union has become another instrument of regimentation and means to increase conformity.

Samokritika is also employed by the ruling circles to manipulate hostilities generated by the Soviet system and to direct them away from themselves and against the managers and bureaucrats located mostly on the lower levels of the Soviet social pyramid. These people conveniently function as scapegoats. It is such people who, together with a sprinkling from the higher echelons, are periodically offered as sacrifice and "purged" or "liquidated." Samokritika is therefore employed also as a check against abuses of power, though mostly on the local level.

In an atmosphere of complete dependence upon and subordination to an overwhelming and infallible power which instils fear and awe, the slightest deviation from the line of thought and emotions as laid down by that distant and inscrutable force might easily provoke anxieties, and a strong sense of guilt. In circumstances in which one feels isolated and without support,

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one's helplessness, feeling of rejection, and dependence upon the controlling power is especially keenly felt. In such conditions even a slight deviation might provoke a feeling of guilt, need for self-punishment and suffering; it might call for public self-humiliation, confession of errors and pledges to repent and to correct the wrong done, especially when such practices are supported by the inherited traditions. There is therefore a certain degree of truth in the assertion of the Bolsheviks, that "Criticism and self-criticism is a great driving force in the development of Soviet society."[10]

II

In a "prison and barracks" society privileges of power and ideas of grandeur do not sufficiently compensate for lack of acceptance, isolation, humiliations, feelings of insecurity, and sense of inferiority and rejection. In an atmosphere of suspicion, intrigue, degradation, and lack of intimate personal and intellectual contact and of social support, anxieties, fears, extreme self-concern, and deep antagonisms easily flourish. Such a situation tends to magnify feelings of destructive aggression developed on the family level and is therefore likely to become overcharged with extreme hostilities and hatreds; it is likely to become full of potential explosiveness which may be directed against the ruling class itself unless convenient channels for discharge of aggressiveness are found.

In a society in which overt expressions of emotional behavior are under the control of a ruling clique, accumulating aggressions are readily directed against internal and external "enemies" of the regime, be they real or invented for the occasion. In this manner the feeling of hostility against the regime might be redirected against its opponents. It is therefore in the interest of survival of the ruling faction in such a society to cultivate hatred and destruction of the "enemy" by all means of public pressure, propaganda, agitation, education, as well as lawmaking.

These are the reasons why attitudes of extreme animosity against the "enemies of the Soviet Motherland" are propagated in the Soviet daily press and in the school textbooks. Stirring hatreds is one of the main tasks of Party agitators.[11] Accordingly